

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
1st Session

Vote No. 451

September 20, 1995, 2:17 p.m.
Page S-13924 Temp. Record

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS/Turkey ESF Limitation

SUBJECT: Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1996 . .
. H.R. 1868. McConnell motion to table the D'Amato amendment No. 2709.

ACTION: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, 60-36

SYNOPSIS: As reported, H.R. 1868, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1996, will provide a total of \$12.34 billion in new budget authority for foreign aid programs in fiscal year (FY) 1996. This amount is \$2.43 billion below the President's request, and \$1.19 billion below the FY 1995 appropriated amount.

The D'Amato amendment would permit no more than \$21 million in economic support funds in this Act to be given to Turkey (this would result in a reduction in such funds to Turkey of \$25 million; Turkey would still receive \$320 million in military aid). The Justice and Treasury Departments would each be given \$5 million of the resulting savings to support law enforcement training activities in other countries in order to improve the effectiveness of the United States in investigating and prosecuting transnational offenses.

During debate, Senator McConnell moved to table the D'Amato amendment. A motion to table is not debatable; however, some debate preceded the making of the motion. Generally, those favoring the motion to table opposed the amendment; those opposing the motion to table favored the amendment.

Those favoring the motion to table contended:

Turkey is a close and loyal ally in a despotic corner of the globe. Our colleagues have legitimate concerns about Turkey's human rights record, but compared to most of its neighbors it is a paragon of virtue. No Senator should take that fact for granted; Turkey could easily stray from the straight and narrow, at tremendous cost for the United States. One way to make it more likely that it would stray would be to give it a gratuitous push, as advocated by the D'Amato amendment.

(See other side)

YEAS (60)			NAYS (36)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Republicans (37 or 73%)	Democrats (23 or 51%)		Republicans (14 or 27%)	Democrats (22 or 49%)	Republicans (3)	Democrats (1)
Abraham	Hatch	Akaka	Coats	Biden	Hatfield- ^{3AY}	Pryor- ⁴
Ashcroft	Hutchison	Baucus	D'Amato	Boxer	Kassebaum- ²	
Bennett	Inhofe	Bingaman	DeWine	Bradley	Warner- ²	
Bond	Jeffords	Breaux	Dole	Bryan		
Brown	Kempthorne	Bumpers	Domenici	Dodd		
Burns	Kyl	Byrd	Gregg	Feingold		
Campbell	Lott	Conrad	Helms	Feinstein		
Chafee	Lugar	Daschle	Murkowski	Harkin		
Cochran	Mack	Dorgan	Pressler	Kennedy		
Cohen	McCain	Exon	Santorum	Kerry		
Coverdell	McConnell	Ford	Smith	Kohl		
Craig	Nickles	Glenn	Snowe	Lautenberg		
Faircloth	Packwood	Graham	Specter	Levin		
Frist	Roth	Heflin	Thomas	Mikulski		
Gorton	Shelby	Hollings		Moseley-Braun		
Gramm	Simpson	Inouye		Moynihan		
Grams	Stevens	Johnston		Pell		
Grassley	Thompson	Kerrey		Reid		
	Thurmond	Leahy		Robb		
		Lieberman		Sarbanes		
		Murray		Simon		
		Nunn		Wellstone		
		Rockefeller				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

Turkey has stood solidly by the United States for decades. It fought beside the United States in the Korean War, and stood as a bulwark between the Soviet Union and the Middle East oil fields throughout the Cold War. It has frequently contributed more troops to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization than any other nation except the United States. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, Turkey has only increased in importance. During the Persian Gulf War, 2,700 sorties were flown from Turkish soil, and the Iraqi pipeline that went through Turkey was cut off, at great expense to Turkey. Turkish troops are in Bosnia, and they were stationed in Somalia as well. Turkey is a calm, secular, democratically elected government standing in the midst of expansionist states like Syria and Iraq, unstable regions like the Balkans and Central Asia, and militant Islamic States like Iran.

Turkey does not need to remain a United States ally. It does not need to remain a secular democracy. Many elements within Turkey would be delighted to see the establishment of a strict Islamic, militant, anti-Western state. We remember the sanctimonious preaching and pressure applied by a former President, Jimmy Carter, to the Shah of Iran. We remember seeing the country respond to that pressure, become destabilized, and quickly fall. Turkey has very real problems. For example, the U.S. protection for Kurds in northern Iraq has provided shelter for Kurdish terrorists who strike across the border in Turkey. Our colleagues should recognize those problems, and they should recognize that the situation in Turkey could be infinitely worse than it is. Turkey is a loyal, steadfast ally that does not deserve to be singled out for criticism. We therefore strongly urge our colleagues to table this amendment.

Those opposing the motion to table contended:

H.R. 1868 will provide Turkey with \$320 million in military aid and \$46 million in economic support funds. The D'Amato amendment would cut back the amount provided in support funds by \$26 million. This modest cut has been proposed as a means of protesting Turkey's continued violations of international agreements and treaties to which it is a signatory, including the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the European Convention on Human Rights. In particular, we are concerned by Turkey's worsening human rights record, its continued blockade of humanitarian supplies to Armenia, its refusal to work toward a lasting and equitable settlement in Cyprus, and its denial of basic rights to its Kurdish minority.

For decades Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the European Union, and other groups have publicly condemned Turkey for its systematic abuse of human rights, including by the use of torture. The United States has used quiet diplomacy, and, according to the State Department, the situation has only worsened. For decades, Turkey has denied the existence of its 15 million Kurdish minority, at the same time as its military has systematically emptied more than 2,000 Kurdish villages and uprooted more than 2 million Kurdish civilians from their homes. In this high-tech version of Turkey's genocide against its Armenian minority earlier this century, the United States has tried quiet diplomacy, to no avail. In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus and continues its illegal occupation to this day, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions and international agreements. Quiet diplomacy by the United States, again, has failed to change Turkey's behavior. Finally, for 2 years Turkey has had a blockade on humanitarian relief reaching Armenia. Aid from the United States and other countries must be routed through Georgia. Much of that aid is then lost due to the instability in that region. Quiet diplomacy has failed to convince Turkey, which will take \$366 million in aid from the United States this year, that it should let us ship food, clothing, and medicine to Armenians in dire need, so we must spend much more trying to ship that aid around Turkey.

Quiet diplomacy has been an utter failure. We should not continue to provide hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to a country that behaves so brutally. The D'Amato amendment would serve to warn Turkey that the American taxpayers are tired of subsidizing its human rights abuses. It is a modest amendment that merits our enthusiastic support.